

Note on Sources

The secondary sources for general background reading on the upper Mississippi River are not very extensive. Naturally, Mark Twain's description of a trip up the river in *Life on the Mississippi* (1883) is essential reading. John McDermott's *Seth Eastman's Mississippi: A Lost Portfolio Recovered* (1973) adds a visual dimension. Julius Chambers' *The Mississippi River and Its Wonderful Valley* (1910) provides a turn-of-the-century perspective, while Walter Havighurst's *Upper Mississippi* (1944) is one of the only 20th-century attempts to update an overall view of the river between St. Louis and St. Paul. Willard Price published an article on the "Upper Mississippi" in *National Geographic* magazine in November 1958.

No one has attempted to focus specifically on the effect of the upper Mississippi on Indian history and culture. Robert A. Janke's Ph.D. thesis (University of Minnesota, 1976), "The Development and Persistence of U.S. Indian Land Problems as Shown by a Detailed Study of the Chippewa Indian," touches on the subject, as does Bishop Whipple's *Light and Shadows of a Long Episcopate* (1899). The article on "The Work of Bishop Whipple in Missions for the Indians," (1903) by Charles E. Flandrau brings up interesting questions about water resource development and Indian survival. But like other articles by scholars in this field this one is more concerned with the government's Indian policy than with the relationship of Indian life to the river environment.

For this study, the historical research published on the growth and development of the states of Minnesota and Wisconsin was very helpful. Theodore C. Blegen's *Minnesota: A History of the State* (1963, 1975) and Robert C. Nesbit's *Wisconsin: A History* (1973) provide the basic history of the region, but do not concentrate on the Mississippi River. The significance of the Mississippi is described in more restricted studies, such as Frederick Merk's *Economic History of Wisconsin During the Civil War Decade* (1916) and Mildred L. Hartsough's *Development of the Twin Cities as a Metropolitan Market* (1925). Albert Sanford's and H.J. Hirshheimer's *A History of La Crosse, Wisconsin, 1841-1900* (1951), Agnes Larson's *History of the White Pine Industry in Minnesota* (1949), and Lucille Kane's *The Waterfall That Built a City: The Falls of St. Anthony* (1966) all have pertinent information on the history of the upper Mississippi River. For geological history, George M. Schwartz's and George A. Thiel's *Minnesota's Rocks and Waters: A Geological Story* (1954) is useful.

Most of the information for this study came from source material found in government archives. The regional federal depository at Chicago contains the records of both the St. Paul and the Rock Island Districts. The *Annual Reports* of the Corps of Engineers before 1915 are very helpful. After 1915 the format for all District reports was standardized and the individual perspective with its personal observations was lost. Senate and House Executive Documents are essen-

tial references, as are the *Congressional Record* and the *U.S. Statutes at Large*. The St. Paul District project files and clipping files provided more research material than could ever be used. The most important government publications include the *Upper Mississippi River Basin Study* (1972), volumes I-IX; the *GREAT I Study of the Upper Mississippi River* (1980), volumes 1-9; and the Mississippi River Commission's *Mississippi River Navigation* (1970).

The best attempt at an overall history of the role of the Corps of Engineers in public works is the unpublished manuscript by John R. Ferrell, "From Single to Multi-Purpose Planning: The Role of the Army Engineers in River Development, 1824-1930." A copy can be found in the Office of the Chief of Engineers, Historical Division. Three histories of the Corps of Engineers' activity on the upper Mississippi have been recently published: Fredrick J. Dobney's *River Engineers on the Middle Mississippi* (1978); Roald Tweet's *A History of the Rock Island District Corps of Engineers* (1975), and Raymond H. Merritt's *Creativity, Conflict and Controversy: A History of the St. Paul District U.S. Army Corps of Engineers*. The earliest work on comprehensive river planning was Charles Ellet's classic study, *The Mississippi and Ohio Rivers* (1853). Corps policy on river hydraulics, however, evolved from A.A. Humphreys' and H.L. Abbot's *Report on the Physics and Hydraulics of the Mississippi River* (1861). E.F. Dawson commented on this approach in his *Notes on the Mississippi River, including Brief Descriptions of the Methods Adopted by the Mississippi Engineers* (1900). Many studies have been made of flood control. Arthur DeWitt Frank summarized an early phase of river history in his *The Development of the Federal Program of Flood Control on the Mississippi River* (1930). Corps studies, even those with an historical approach, are usually topical. Very few good biographies have been produced. Florence Dorsey's *Master of the Mississippi, Henry Shreve and the Conquest of the Mississippi* (1947) is an exception.

By far the greatest amount of publication has concentrated on navigation and the Mississippi River. Louis C. Hunter's *Steamboats on Western Rivers* (1949) provides a general background. The earliest histories were written by rivermen. Examples are S.W. McMaster's *60 Years on the Upper Mississippi: My Life and Experiences* (1893), E.W. Gould's *Fifty Years on the Mississippi or Gould's History of River Navigation* (1889), and Herbert Quick's *Mississippi Steamboatin': A History of Steamboating on the Mississippi and Its Tributaries* (1926). Two of the best studies are Mildred Hartsough's *From Canoe to Steel Barge on the Upper Mississippi* (1934) and William J. Peterson's *Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi* (1968).

The movement of logs down the Mississippi dominated navigation during the period between the Civil War and World War I. Works covering this phase of river history include Robert Fries, *Empire in Pine: The Story of Lumbering in Wisconsin, 1830-1900* (1951); Fred W. Kohlmeyer, *Timber Roots: The Laird, Norton Story, 1855-1905* (1972); William G. Rector, *Log Transportation in the Lake States Lumber Industry: 1840-1918* (1953); and Ralph Hidy, Allan Nevins, and Frank Hill, *Timber and Men: The Weyerhaeuser Story* (1963). Bernhardt J.

Kleven, "The Mississippi River Logging Company," *Minnesota History* (September 1946), documents one of the numerous controversies between loggers and steamboat operators over use of the river.

Other sources of navigation history are the numerous *Proceedings* of the Upper Mississippi River Improvement Association that met in different communities to promote Mississippi navigation. Frank H. Dixon's *A Traffic History of the Mississippi River System* (1909) provided a summary of river traffic for the National Waterways Commission. Raymond H. Merritt's "The Development of the Lock and Dam System on the Upper Mississippi" (National Waterways Roundtable, *Proceedings On the History and Evolution of U.S. Waterways and Ports*, 1980) has a compilation of river traffic statistics gathered from Corps of Engineers' *Annual Reports*. Background for understanding government legislation on the Mississippi can be found in Edward L. Pross, "A History of Rivers and Harbors Appropriation Bills, 1866-1933" (Ph.D. thesis, Ohio State University, 1938). Four other works describe government policy and the role of the federal sponsorship of shipping: Marshall E. Dimock, *Developing America's Waterways: Administration of the Inland Waterways Corporation* (1935); Harold Kelso, "Inland Waterways Policy in the United States," (Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1942); Edwin A. Leland, "An Administrative History of the Inland Waterways Corporation," (Ph.D. thesis, Tulane University, 1960); and Kenneth H. McCarthy, "Government Enterprise: A Study of the Inland Waterways Corporation," (Ph.D. thesis, University of Minnesota, 1958). One of the most useful studies is a master's thesis completed by Patrick Brunet, "The Corps of Engineers and Navigation Movement on the Channel of the Upper Mississippi Prior to 1939," (University of Texas 1977).

Actually, few secondary sources exist for the broader topic of the upper Mississippi and the environment. That is one reason why the Corps of Engineers contracted for this study. Albert E. Cowdrey's article, "Pioneering Environmental Law: The Army Corps of Engineers and the Refuse Act," *Pacific Historical Review* (August 1975), provides necessary background. These studies of fish life also add to the literature: Arthur S. Pearse, "Fishing on the Mississippi," *Scientific Monthly* (February 1922); and Robert E. Coker, "Studies of Common Fishes of the Mississippi River at Keokuk," *U.S. Bureau of Fisheries Bulletin* 45.

Many pollution studies are important. Two of the earliest were F.L. Woodward, "Pollution Studies of the Upper Mississippi River," *Industrial and Engineering Chemistry* (February 1930); and H.R. Crohurst, "A Study of the Pollution and Natural Purification of the Upper Mississippi River," *Public Health Service Bulletin* 203. Finally, appraisals of the effect of pollution on wildlife have been made by William T. Hornaday, *Thirty Years War for Wild Life* (1931); Ira Gabrielson, *Wildlife Refuges* (1943); and "Floods and Wildlife," *Scientific American* (February 1937).